Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1. *Introduction*

Yogad is a Philippine language spoken in Echague and several nearby towns in Isabela Province, which is located in the Cagayan Valley in central eastern Luzon. Cf. Figure 1. *Ethnologue,* citing a 1975 census, estimates the number of speakers at 14,000. Yogad is classified as belonging to the Ibanagic sub-group of the Northern Cordilleran languages, along with Gaddang, Itawit, Villaviciosa Agta, Ibanag, Atta, and Isnag. Cf. also Reid (1989:57). Previous treatments of Yogad include Healey (1958) and an M.A. thesis by Galang (1974).

2. *On the transcription*

The transcription used in the following chapters assumes these phonological contrasts:[1]

p	t	k	'		i	u
b	d	g			e	o
f	s	h			a	
m	n	ng				
	r					
	l					
w	y					

As in many Philippine languages, the relations among the non-low vowels are variable, and the pattern is not the same for the front vowels as it is for the back. Yogad gives evidence of a contrast between *u* and *o* and between *i* and *e*:

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[1] There is also some reason to acknowledge the presence of a sixth, 'defective' vowel in Yogad, a schwa. But we omit it from our inventory here. Cf. Chapter 6, section 2, for discussion.
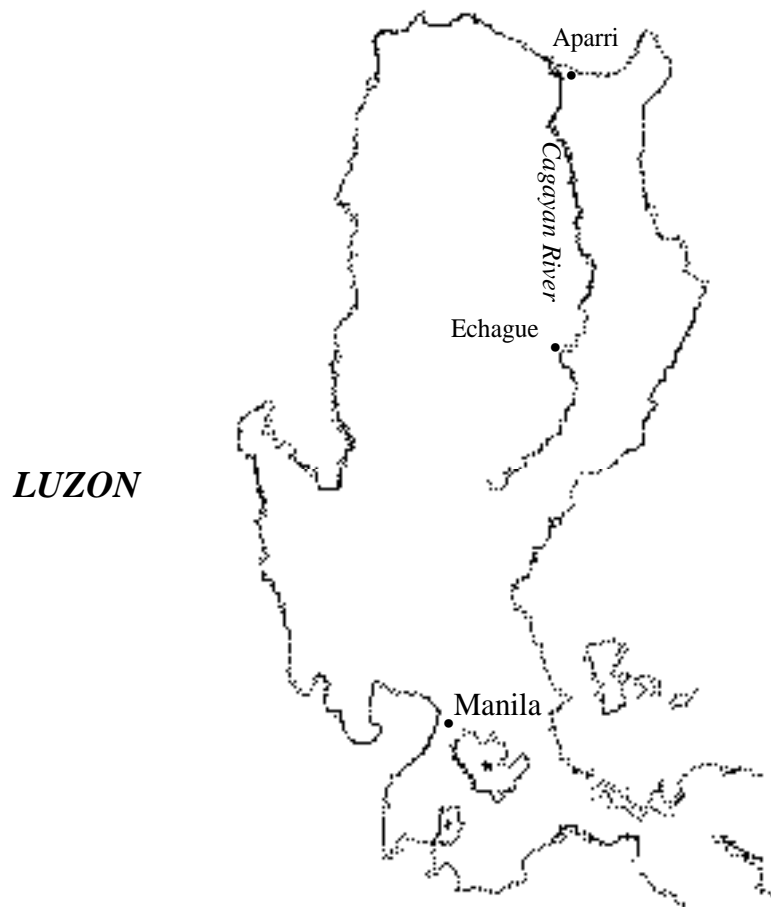
Figure 1: *Echague.*

(1)	(a)	itúk	'selfishness'
	(b)	atúk	'smoke'
	(c)	bakulúd	'mountain'
	(d)	kurúg	'true'

(2)	(a)	suntók	'to punch'
	(b)	aranggók	'to snore'
	(c)	alód	'north'
	(d)	kiróg	'to stir'

(3)	(a)	yína	'that'
	(b)	líwan	'outside'

(c)   gabí   'night'

(4)   (a)   yéna   'mother'
         (b)   lélaw   'morning'
         (c)   sawwé   'now'

Yet there is a fair amount of free variation between *u* and *o* so that *atúk* may vary

(5)   [÷atúk]
         [÷at¡o·k]

and *suntók* may vary:

(6)   [sunt¡o·k]
         [suntúk]

'Smoke' is more frequently [÷atúk], and 'to box' is more frequently [suntók]. This variation is absent from the front vowels.
    Phonetically, all vowels are longer in open syllables when stressed, and there is an additional back vowel:

(7)   [tat∕ø:ku]
         'I know'

(8)   [m∕ø:pal]
         'tired'

(9)   [s∕ø:tu÷agá·o]
         'today'

This [ø:] resolves itself, however, into *aw*. Compare the following with (7) - (9):

(10)   (a)   [tatá·o]
                  'know'

         (b)   [ku]
                  'I'

(11)   (a)   [màfullá‹o]
               'very white'

        (b)   [fullá‹o]
               'white'

        (c)   [upál]
               'tired'

(12)   (a)   [sá‹o]
               'here'

        (b)   [÷agá‹o]
               'daylight'

Not all [ø̞] occur in an enviroment which reveals their character, e.g.

(13)   [t⁄ø̞:la‹ı]
        'person'

Yet these are few, and the vowel is consistently [ø̞] and never [o:]. We write them all as *aw*.
    The front vowels have a similar alternation in the same environment:

(14)   (a)   [binalá‹ı]
               'house'

        (b)   [binal⁄Åm]
               'your house'

(15)   (a)   [immugúd]
               'care'

        (b)   [m⁄Å:mugud]
               'careful'

The [Å] in these examples is clearly a result of monophthongization as is the [ø]. But the product of this process in the front vowels does **not** yield a vowel distinct from the other lower mid front vowel, *e*, also [Å]. In the examples of (4), phonetically, we find:

(16)   (a)   [yÅ:na]   'mother'

          (b)   [VÅ:la·o]   'morning'

          (c)   [sa·owÅ]   'now'

Additionally, borrowings from Spanish with *e* are present in Yogad with this [Å]:

(17)   [ÁÅmpo]
          'time/weather/season'

(18)   [÷iskwÅ:la]
          'school'

(19)   [lamÅ:sa]
          'table'

Spanish borrowings with a diphthong *ay*, e.g. *máestro* 'teacher', also appear with [Å]:

(20)   [mÅstro]

The back vowels differ again in that Spanish borrowings are always with [o] and never [ø]:

(21)   [sap¡a:tos]
          'shoes'

(22)   [k¡otÁÅ]
          'car'

(23)   [kinolór]
          'colored'

We will write [Å] as *e*, e.g. *yéna* 'mother', *tyémpo* 'time', and *méstro* 'teacher', unless there is reason from the grammar to write it as *ay*, as in *binaláy-m* 'your house' and *má-ymugud* 'careful' In non-final tautosyllabic position, *ay* will spell [Å], and elsewhere, it will spell [ay]. Both *ay* and *e,* then, will spell [Å]. The sequence *aw* will spell [a·o] in all places except non-

final tautosyllabic position, where it spells [ø]. But *o* will spell only [o]. Unlike *ay* and *e*, *aw* and *o* will never overlap.

Lexical stress is distinctive and is noted with an acute accent. Examples of this contrast are:

(23)   (a)   lábat   'cold'
         (b)   labát   'cross-eyed'

(24)   (a)   páyaw   'to follow closely'
         (b)   payáw   'a field'

(25)   (a)   áddu   'many'
         (b)   addú   'two'

(26)   (a)   kúku   'possession'
         (b)   kukú   'nail (of a finger or toe)'

(27)   (a)   ámma   'father'
         (b)   ammá   'if, when, etc.'

There is some variation in the placement of accent in context, and we try to write it where we hear it; e.g.

(28)   (a)   kótye
                'car'

         (b)   kotyé ku
                'my car'

(29)   (a)   atawá
                'spouse'

         (b)   atawa kú
                'my spouse'

but

(30)   (a)   báka
                'cow'

(b)   báka   ku
        'my cow'

(31)   (a)   wagí
                'sibling'

        (b)   wagí   ku
                'my sibling'

3. *On the subject matter of this book*

Yogad is an interesting language, especially to those who approach it from the perspective of European languages. In the remainder of the introduction, we will identify some of what we find most interesting about Yogad, and then we will announce the prejudices in our approach to its presentation.

Our primary purpose is to describe Yogad without exploiting it for 'theore-tical' ends, although it will become apparent that Yogad presents some chal-lenges to our beliefs about what languages are like. Yogad is important typolo-gically. Work elsewhere will draw (or has drawn) on the Yogad material and its implications. But it is, nevertheless, worthwhile to point out some of the interesting conclusions that a description of Yogad seems to support. In one characterization, Yogad is what would be called a VSO language (as are all the Philippine languages we are aware of). In one sense, Yogad has little distinction between the grammatical classes of 'noun' and 'verb'. Any lexical item may appear in sentence initial position and accept the 'verbal' affixes; and conversely, any may appear in the S and O positions with the grammatical accompaniments of what would be thought to be 'nouns'.[2] There are lexical distinctions, but they do not correlate well with grammar. There are three prin-cipal areas in which Yogad may be especially significant.

First, we believe that all languages will necessarily embed the PARTICI-PANTS of their PROPOSITIONS in the knowledge of the speakers.[3] Determiners in languages other than English have been frequently reduced to the familiar distinctions of 'definite', 'indefinite', 'specific', 'non-specific', and the like;

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[2] Familiar terms such as 'noun', 'verb', 'adjective' and the like will apear in our description of Yogad, but we employ them to ground the discussion in the experience of the reader and do not by our usage impute them to Yogad.

[3] Since this sentence contains its first occurrence, we mention one notational device which we have adopted. When a ('technical') term is intended to refer to content or meaning, we have used small capitals to write it.

but there is no imperative that these contents be the universal mode in orienting PARTICIPANTS to our experience.[4] The content of Yogad determiners stands in contrast to the familiar categories, as well as contrasting with other non-English strategies (e.g. that of Bella Coola (Davis & Saunders 1975, 1997), and even other Philippine languages such as Ilokano. Cf. Baker (1993).).

Second, Yogad seems not to have ROLES (case, grammatical categories, etc.) as do some other languages. There are only two ROLES in Yogad, and neither of them accords well with 'subject' and 'object', 'agent' and 'patient', 'executor' and 'experiencer', etc. This aspect of language in which EVENTS are related to PARTICIPANTS has been composed by Yogad in a decidedly un-Indo-European manner (and even differently from some other non-Indo-European languages, e.g. Bella Coola). The notion of 'transitivity' (whether interpreted grammatically or semantically) is generally not present in Yogad. Typologizing language according to the configuration of PARTICIPANTS, e.g. nominative-accusative, ergative-absolutive, active-stative, etc. is not illuminating for Yogad. Yogad on the other hand has many 'voices'; and it is especially helpful for an understanding generally of the nature of 'voice' and for its various manifestations, e.g. 'middle' and 'medio-passive'. But the language has no 'passive'.

Third, Yogad demonstrates that the content of morphosyntax works from the lexical item out. It is not possible to predict how any particular lexical item in Yogad will interact with the patterns of grammatical meaning. But knowing something of the patterns of grammatical meaning, it is possible to understand *post hoc* some of the usage. The patterns are fractured depending upon the semantic classes of lexical items that enter into them, and an understanding of Yogad requires the recognition of these differences among lexical items and knowing something of their semantic nature (cf. Davis & Mesa Ms.); lacking that, the language will remain opaque and chaotic.

Our description of Yogad must be incomplete. The focus from here on will be upon the semantics of the grammar of the language. No more will be said of the phonology. In Chapters 2 and 3, we characterize the content of the morpho-syntax of the PROPOSITION and describe some of the patterns that are evident from narrative texts, 'discourse' in the familiar usage. In Chapters 4 and 5, we turn to examination of the content of the verbal morphology.

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[4] Nor is there a requirement that this imperative be satisfied by any particular grammar. 'Determiners' (or 'articles') is one way grammar may encode this content, but any other grammatical device (cf. below) may also do. Mandarin, for example, will involve word order to this end.

Chapter 6 treats two portions of the grammar: one frequently expressed with the suffix -≥n (with some variation), and the other is the prefix *pa-*. Surely, some topics will have been omitted (or missed) and others, given only cursory attention. Some of these will be detailed in other work. Our intent here is to provide as integrated and close a description as we can of selected portions of the morphosyntax.

4. *On the approach to the subject matter*

We are aware that any one else examining this language might well see it differently. It may be possible to find 'subjects' or 'agents' or 'transitivity' or 'ergativity' if one wants to see them, or any of the received categories from linguistic tradition. We are, however, convinced that many of these inherited distinctions are absent from Yogad morphosyntax, i.e., they are not universal, and some (e.g. 'constructions') are just artifacts of the tradition.

Our first title, *The Grammar of Yogad*, refers not to the contents of this book, but to the phenomenon which preoccupies us here. It is the subtitle, *A Functional Explanation*, that describes the book's contents. The main belief which guides this inquiry is that meaning sustains form. Language means; and because language means, form exists only in so far as it serves meaning.[5] Form isolated from meaning is not instructive (and non-existent). In the same way that form does not exist in isolation, utterances do not occur in isolation. It is literally impossible. Using a term introduced above, everything is discourse. And answers to our inquiry must refer always to usage and its context.

The relevant question is always "What does it mean?" (and how do we understand that query and any response to it).[6] It is almost never straightforward, and it is never easy to grasp the content of grammar, to understand its intricacies, and to give them some reasonable expression.[7] This view prompts us to search to understand the meanings of pieces of Yogad, where we suspect that they may be different, and not to accept 'meaningless' forms nor synonymy ("They mean the same thing") as answers to morphosyntactic puzzles. Examination of shapes is interesting because the shapes provide us an

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[5] This is what Givón (1995:62) calls "naive functionalist faith". Chapter 6, section 2, provides occasion for a discussion of our position in the context of a concrete problem in understanding Yogad.

[6] The practice that lies behind this description will not de discussed here. Some of these issues have been addressed in Davis (1995b). We say here, though, that any response to the question "What does it mean?" is not accepted as a direct answer of the sort that we want.

[7] Harris (1993:6), in a discussion of recent linguistic behavior, calls meaning "elusive".

entrance into meaning. The '*' that precedes some of the examples in the text indicate not that the examples are ungrammatical per se, but that the utterances have no application in this world. There is no circumstance which they might describe. This is obviously a matter of degree, and occasionally we will use '?' for a degree of inappropriateness that seems to lie between 'ᴼᴋ' (which goes un-marked) and '*'.

Morphosyntax from this perspective has only four available resources, namely, the four taxemes identified by Bloomfield (1933:163-169): contrasting syntagmatic sequence (XY vs. YX), contrasting paradigmatic choice (XY vs. WY), contrasting intonation contours, and contrasting morphophonemics.[8] The last may not be distinct from the second; but without quibbling over their distinctiveness, accepting them as the limit to morphosyntax leaves a lot to be covered elsewhere. That is our goal.

There **is** a set of general and substantive hypotheses which lie behind our description, but this is not the place for their exposition. They are embodied here in the order and understanding (if any) which we are able to bring to Yogad. In the final chapter, we enumerate what we think are some of the lessons to be gained from this description, but in what follows, Yogad stands at center stage.

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[8] Bloomfield called them "order", "selection", "modulation", and "phonetic modification", respectively. Givón (1995:177) offers a slightly different quartet of "observable components of grammatical structure: a. Linear order b. Nested hierarchic structure c. Grammatical morphology d. Rhythmics: intonation and pauses". Nested hierarchic structure is on this list of observable components even though it is "more abstract and cannot be observed directly". Where it makes a difference (cf. especially Chapter 2, section 3, but elsewhere as well), we choose not to invoke such structure.